101
174 /218 cont./
the Caiuás (4) may have sprung from these. Many of them

4. Caiuás is probably a corruption of the name Caiguá, which means forest people. (Caa = forest, guá = people.)

speak of relatives in Paraguay and occasionally undertake visits there. In some cases their Portuguese is mixed with bits of Spanish. I therefore believe that it is not a mistake if I see in the Caiuás immigrant Indians who stand in the closest relationship with the Paraguayan Tembecuá. --

• 361 Their present-day dwelling sites are to be found largely in the Dourados municipality in the southern Mato Grosso. The center of the municipality is the small town of Dourados, which has grown considerably in recent years.

659
361 The Indian Protective Service post "Francisco Horta" lies four kilometers from the town; six kilometers from there the village of Farinha Seca, where Chief João lives. Additional villages follow: Boróro and Cerrito, which are close together, and the more distant Panambi with 400 souls. -- A day's journey by truck leads to another government post named Tehycué.
[241] At these points and at a few others, all in the area of posts of the Protective Service, the Caiuás live in villages entirely by
[464] themselves and have their own plantings. -- Outside of these villages there are individual Indians who work for landholders or lead unsettled lives. Moreover, a few families have isolated themselves, as I have reported elsewhere (5).

[113] 5. Cf. "Verstreute Indianerdörfer im Südosten des Matto Grosso /Scattered Indian Villages in the Southeastern Part of the Mato Grosso/." (Manuscript.)

/11 cont./

101
[114]

navigation by watercourses that, with some lakes, crossed the territory of the lower part of the Kulisehu and the Batovi: "It is really interesting that the name of these Indians seems to have this meaning. They are called 'Auiti' by their neighbors; which, in Guaraní, is the adjectival form apité, 'that which is in the center, in the middle.'" Karl von den Steinen, 1940, p. 192.

Among the Paraguayans they are known by the nickname Baticolas, referring to the chiripá that they wear between their legs. And in other subgroups one hears the nickname Avâhuguai, "men with tails," given for the same reason.

South of Santos two hordes of Mbüá live in the villages of Rio Branco and Rio Comprido (near Itariri). They came from southern Paraguay in the last three decades. In the west of the Brazilian states of Santa Catarina and Paraná is found in turn a series of Mbüá hordes. I was with these Indians at the post of Xapecó and in the village of Palmeirinha. Finally, numerous Mbüá are still counted in the forest region of eastern Paraguay, especially in the territory of Guaíra, but also in the northern part of Argentina and in Rio Grande do Sul.

Kayová is the third group, also known as Teüí and Tembekuá (8).

[114]

8. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Mrs. Wanda Hanke confirmed to me in 1951 that the Tembekuá she visited in northern Paraguay are culturally identical to the Kayová of Mato Grosso; and the name Tembekuá is not an autodenomination among them. They live in the vicinity of Itakiry, from where their villages (Cupim, Formosa, etc.) can all be reached in one day of travel by horse.

• [361]

The pronunciation of the name (perhaps a corruption of káá y yguá) varies between Kaiuá and Kadjová, with the intermediate forms Kaiouá and Kayová. I use the last one (9).

[128]

9. /From p. 23 of the original source./ In earlier works I wrote Kayuá (Schaden, 1947, 1948b).

[114]

/11 cont./

101 The Mbüá pronounce the word kai iuá (10).

[114] 10. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Concerning the name Kayová, its etymology, and the confusion that it has caused in the works referring to the groups of the Guaraní tribe, I published an extensive note in the appendix to the work of Curt Nimuendajú, "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní /Observations on the Guarani/" (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 54-55).

The designation Tellí (Teýi) is used by themselves for the Indians, whatever the tribe might be, with the meaning of "native of the land." Nimuendajú observes that for the Apapokúva the name [114] Teyí is depreciatory. It is not for the Kayová, who use it even for the celestial population of their religion. Tembekuá is not an autodenomination; I heard it principally among the Ñandéva of the Paraguayan border, who designated the Kayová with it.

It seems that the Txiripá of the banks of the Paraná, probably identical with the Avátxiripá, but different from the Txiripá í (Ñandéva), belong to the subdivision of the Kayová. I have not [115] had an opportunity to verify this hypothesis, however. Alberto, a Kayová village chief, told me that the name Txiripá is a nickname given by the Paraguayans to a subgroup called Kuarapüté.

• [361] Today the Kayová seem to be confined to a series of villages in the south of Mato Grosso (such as Dourados, Panambi, Teicuê, Taquapiri, Amambai, and others) and in the contiguous regions [657] of Paraguay. /12/ The majority of them lives, under the official administration of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, in more or less large reservations, devoting themselves to hunting and tillage, and working for a few months every year in the great yerbales /stands of yerba maté/ of that zone.

101 167 There is no information that the Kayová may have reached as far as the coast of the Atlantic in their migrations (11).

[114] 11. /From p. 23 of the original source./ From a work by Gustav von Koenigswald (1908), in which, incidentally, there is frequently

/12 cont./

101 186 [756] hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 [648] Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs from anthropological books that I showed them were commented [101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there are various denominations, in general depreciatory; a neutral one is yvýpóre, which I heard among Ñandéva of the Paulista coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally [875] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./ Buarque de Holanda, 1949, p. 249.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators. It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times. 175 167 [773] [787] They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west, that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last century. The reason for these wanderings is the yvý opá, the end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the horde of the Tafliguá /Tanygua/ (1820), the Oguahuíva /Oguauiva/ (1820), the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a [361] large settlement was founded in Itaporanga, near Itararé, on land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

2: Schaden--14 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/12 cont./

175 361 [162] In 1910 about 500 Guaraní lived there, who later totally, or almost totally, dispersed (15).

15. /From p. 23 of the original source./ One of my principal informants comes from there, the old Poýdjú (now Capitão Maneco do Araribá), who left his natal village at the age of twelve. Concerning the history of his band, there is a note by me among those that accompany "Apontamentos sôbre os Guaraní by Curt Nimuendajú (Nimuendajú, 1954, pp. 55-56).

[115]

[114]

175 167 [361] The reasons for the dispersion were /13/ of various nature. Some families established themselves in the settlements of Itariri and Bananal (they told Baldus in 1927 that they made the change because of spoliation), others went to the region of the Noroeste /Northwest/ at the invitation of a missionary, Father Sabino, to help in the pacification of the Kaingáng of the Rio Feio. The episode of the death of Father Claro Monteiro, who was accompanying some of these Guaraní, is well known. The band later settled in Araribá, where today the Pôsto Curt Nimuendajú is found.

[361]

The more recent migrations are those of some levies of Mbüá from eastern Paraguay and northeastern Argentina, who, crossing Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, arrived at the coast of São Paulo. I know of three groups: one came around 1924, another one came in 1934, and a third one, which arrived in 1946, also came from southern Paraguay, from territory contiguous to the Argentine province of Misiones. Of these three bands, the first two have already been in Espírito Santo, in Minas Gerais, and in Araribá, part of them now living in the village of Rio Branco, and a few remnants in the state of Espírito Santo; the third, after living for a while with their fellows at Rio Branco and with those at Itariri, withdrew to Rio Comprido in the Serra do Itariri.

[361]

2: Schaden--15 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides, [114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the intention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and [787] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that • [361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi- [177] plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthropologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions. [182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscegenation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the ecological and economic interaction with neighboring populations and the respective forms of co-operation and competition, on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/ alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality, 162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde 175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the 167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a year, around 1925.

/15 cont./

62 [433] [678] supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Itatins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile [563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestizo with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbüá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the ñanderú Miguel lived in the village; they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Itatins. Among these Mbüá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago. [162] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 15 women, and 23 children. All of them be- [563] longed to the Mbüá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestizo woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco [186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them. [484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
[735] and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
[33] nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
[184] women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
[157] one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
[177] Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[114] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
162 post, besides some mestizos. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
[177] tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Mangueir-
621 inha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
162 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá sub-
group and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio
Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the
dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very
close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others
from Palmeirinha. The village -- tôldo, as it is called there --
made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó
and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/
Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at
tillage as day laborers.

/16 cont./

• 361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On 621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the [162] post, with some mestiços among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since [164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments. [177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no [178] longer performing ceremonies of any type; among the Kayová, too, [197] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. -- [114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[36] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco [162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949). Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns [178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute [114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[36] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso, [114] Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I [162] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at [166] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová [433] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambai. -- The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/17 cont./

361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league from the city of the same name (ex-Uniño), in southern Mato Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region, hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Perê), a Kayová nucleus under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio Dias (ex-Naverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949. It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Igustemi and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other side of the /18/ border: some even say they were born in Vila Igustemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be pure Indian, but creole mestiso. When I stayed with them in June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina, and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages under official protection or even administration.

2: Schaden--22 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/19 cont./

177 178 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The [361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the ex- [61] tensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred [554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (ñanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 182 [177] Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different communities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the [563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the [78] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

2: Schaden--34 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/33/

Chapter III

Some Elements of the Material Culture and Their Transformations

1. The village, the dwellings, and the furnishings

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Bearers of the culture characteristic of the forest region, in which the subsistence activities include the toil of hunting in combination with tilling the soil, the Guarani settle, whenever possible, in the heart of the forest, avoiding the open landscape of the country. Their villages, far from constituting compact conglomerations of dwellings, consist of isolated houses more or less distant from one another, scattered in the open clearings in the forest. In general it [192] is not possible to determine a "center" of the village, unless one considers as such the dwellings of the ñanderú, doctor-sorcerer, 361 or the oýguatsú, house of religious celebrations. As a matter of 621 fact, the building in which the ceremonies are performed is the point of convergence of the religious and social activities of the group, so that the larger villages, in which there are two or more religious chiefs, tend to break up into as many different, quite independent nuclei, each with its own life. In the majority of cases these social units constitute kin groups /Port. parentelas/ under the direction of a great-family chief.

621 Whereas formerly, as everything indicates, the great-family 596 -- constituting a community of production, consumption, and re- 178 ligious life -- lived in one single dwelling large enough to shelter several dozen persons, today we only find the great house, and even so as an exception and survival, in one or another Kayová 178 village. The present-day Ñandéva and Mbüá live in very small 184 dwellings, corresponding to the elementary or nuclear families. 592 As far as the latter two groups are concerned, it is not easy to dis- 621 cover the reasons for the substitution, which might be explained either by influences from the Jesuit era or by the great spatial mobility of the hordes. As for the Kayová, among whom the process of /34/ economic individualization is in full force, through the interaction of the sylvicolist in the regional extractive and productive activities, the adoption of the abode of the elementary family is an answer to the imperative necessity imposed by the transformation of the economy.

/54 cont./

224 [192] When a herd of wild pigs (tadjasú) appears in the vicinity of the village, a collective hunt is organized, in which some four to six persons participate. The distribution of the animals killed, made by whomever killed them, benefits all the great-families of the community. All is divided into equal portions, including that for the hunter, and there are no special parts intended for this one or that one.

226 Similar to what happens in connection with many other aspects of Guaraní culture, the importance of fishing in the assemblage of economic activities varies, as is natural, according to the possibilities and conditions of the environment. Scattered [361] over an immense area, the villages are sometimes found near watercourses rich in fish, sometimes in /55/ regions that offer fish in small quantities, which obviously conditions on a broad scale the interest given to this source of food.

226 184 [192] It is true that there are also differences of an undeniably cultural character. While the Ñandéva of Bananal, for example, limit themselves to catching, with the aid of the weel and rarely with the hook, some river fish -- taray (traíra), bagre, cará -- and while among the Kayová fishing is practically nonexistent, the Mbüá, wherever they are settled, will try to take advantage, as best they can, of the fish available in the watercourses.

226 There are various methods of fishing in vogue among the Mbüá. In the village of Rio Branco, for instance, I noted the existence of weels of taquara cane or of timbópé (used only by the men), of metal hooks (used by preference by the women), of parí with timbo, and of fishtraps. As for the metal hooks, they claim to have been using them since time immemorial; when they do not have the purchased ones, they make them out of wire, or, when for lambaris, out of sewing needles; lacking purchased lines, they use tucuma fiber. To fish with timbo they build a parí in the river, cut timbo, put it on a stone and grind it with another one, throwing it in quantity into the water. No timbo is used in the [192] fishtrap; a "chiqueiro" /pen/ is made in the river, with a wooden board that falls ("disarms") when the traíra or other fish moves the

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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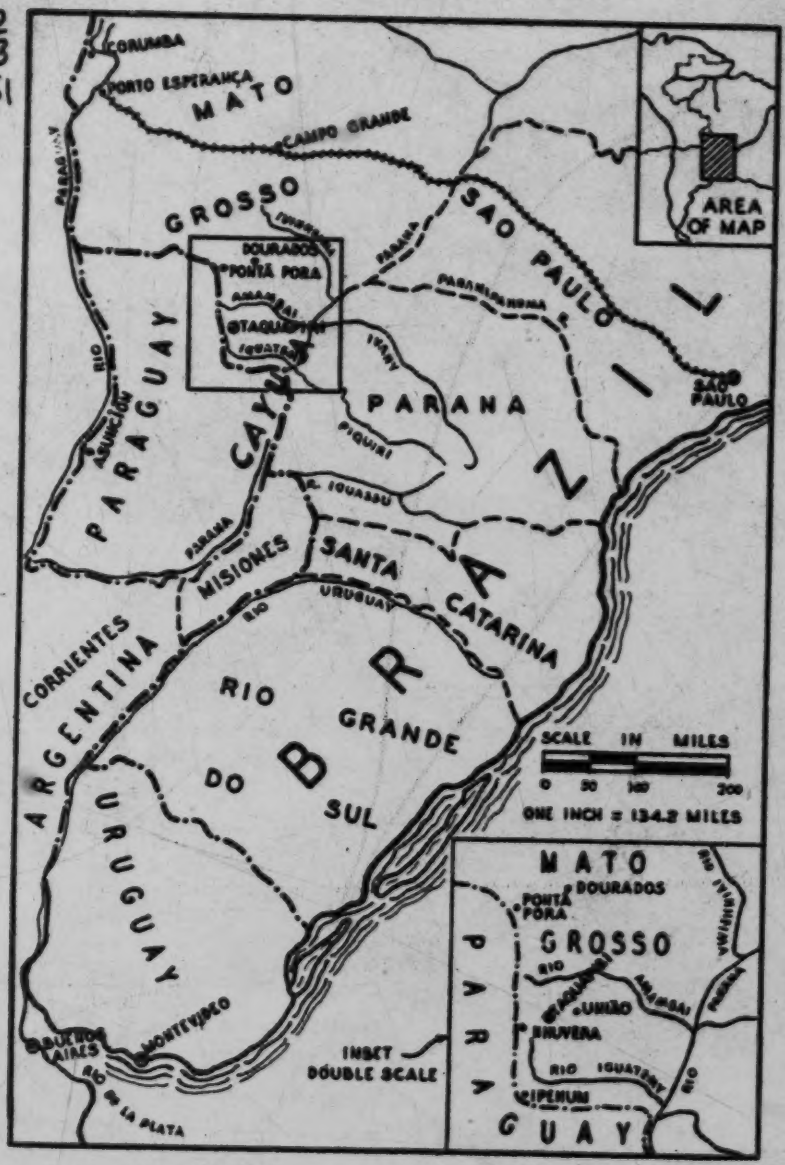
• 361



MAP OF SOUTHERN BRAZIL

[P. 8]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 596 342 tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapâi* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[48] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole *174 tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

• 361 342 Adding to the impression of the *tapâi* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapâi* (perhaps group of *tapâi*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapâi*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapâi*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapâi* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. [178] (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapâi*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit *174 among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

596 433 241 Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapâi* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapâi's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component *174 elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although 596 certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous [244] *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing [226] were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting [273] the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cõuí'* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapâi* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. [462] The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapâi* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, *174 or manioc.

582 The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[48] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Paulo (Brazil), founded in 1554. Yet, both of the non-Indian enemies of the missionary work of the Jesuits actually in some respects increased the enrollment of the missions. The Indians, through fear of the slaving forays of the *paulistas* on the one hand and the forced labor of the Paraguayan *encomenderos* on the other, apparently were often driven or persuaded to take refuge in the missions and reductions of the Company. This was, in fact, a strong talking point of the Jesuits in enlisting prospective converts.

Throughout the mission period, however, may "woods Indians" (literally "Cayuá"?), as Dobrizhoffer calls them, remained beyond the sphere of Jesuit proselytism; and geographically it was again the traditional area of the present Cayuá, largely to the north of the most famous and longest established Guarani missions, which saw the fewest inroads of Catholic religious and secular proselytism. Once more, then, our concern with major European forces for acculturation is only because of their possible, *indirect* influence on the Cayuá. The indirect influence exerted by the Jesuits through missionized Indians was much greater than could have been attributed to the Spaniards previously. The missionaries lived closer to the Cayuá; they affected larger numbers of Guarani-speakers and tried with greater seriousness and direction to remake many more aspects of the daily life and culture of the indigenes.

The Jesuit missions were villages or camps composed of barrack-like dwellings in strict military arrangement, with community buildings such as the church, storehouses, and the priest's house. The life of the missions was apparently a highly regimented one, with every attempt made by the soldiers of Christ to break the old customs and instill the new ones of obedience, belief, and work—after the patterns desired by the priests. The manner of setting up a mission was for Jesuits, singly or in pairs, accompanied by Indian proselytes who knew the country and the tongue, to strike out, usually for a region where "woods Indians" had been reported. When such a band was located, they were subjected to persuasion, either to join an already established mission, or to allow the Jesuits to establish one for them at some designated spot in that area. Gifts and sometimes feasts of beef, brought along on the hoof for the purpose, were among the blandishments calculated to encourage the pagans to submit. The Indian proselytes often also worked on their "unreduced" cousins, telling them of the joys and the wonders of life in the missions.[86]

Establishing a mission meant that the Indians were obliged to live where the Jesuits indicated, perhaps to join an already organized town. They had quarters assigned them, were presumably issued "proper" clothing, and were

[86] Such attractions as music were even employed. Dobrizhoffer, for example, played a *viola d'amor*, and other Jesuits performed on the guitar, flute, etc. It must have been a strange sight—a black gowned man of God, floating down some forest-flanked interior river in a dugout, piping or fiddling European folk tunes to the children of nature, presumably in attendance along the banks.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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*175
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have been precisely in the region where the Cayuá live. Cayuá were occasionally employed as workers by the company—although Paraguayans seem to be preferred for most of the back-breaking, miserably paid types of work which are the lot of the Indians and *mestizos*. The *maté* enterprise in Mato Grosso has, therefore, been another and recent avenue of acculturational contact for the Cayuá. The extension of a large scale development of the *maté* resources north from Paraguay, however, was but a modernized version of the same type of forest exploitation which had long been going on to the south and which had, since the days before the Jesuits, brought the Paraguayans into intermittent contact with the forest-dwelling peoples.

Unlike cattle and *maté*, which were directly responsible for bringing small numbers of settlers to the region itself, the moving forward of the coffee frontier in São Paulo affected directly only those Cayuá who had migrated across the Rio Paraná. But the westward advance of coffee cultivation in the late 19th and 20th centuries did bring Neo-Brazilians closer to the eastern frontier of Mato Grosso and tended to strengthen settlements already there. Moreover, some immigrants spilled over into the newer state when they felt the need of new lands to conquer.

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By 1914 a narrow gauge railroad had been laid, connecting São Paulo centers with the Mato Grosso cattle town of Campo Grande. Several trains a week began to arrive from Baurú in São Paulo state (where a "Guarani" reservation was still located when Nimuendajú made his Apapocuva study). A few more years saw the railroad push on almost to Corumbá on the Paraguay River. Thus nearly the entire southern, and narrower, section of the state of Mato Grosso—which lies between the two rivers—was girded, from the Paraná to the Paraguay.[110]

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Although the *Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil* lay several hundred miles to the north of Taquapiri, other Cayuá villages were located as much as half the distance closer to the line. The general influence of the railroad was felt in the opening up of communication to the east and in the increasing flow of goods from Brazilian ports and coastal city industries. Trade goods, with little doubt, became considerably easier for the Indians to obtain at this time whereas they had been difficult enough even for the white settlers before. Here and there throughout the southern part of the state, in tiny Neo-Brazilian hamlets and in the few small towns, general stores or trading posts

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[110] "*A Estrada de Ferro Noroeste do Brasil*," still a narrow gauge line, is today (1943) operated with no important improvements in rail or rolling stock since its inception. It is the only railroad in southern Mato Grosso, or, indeed, in the entire enormous state, unless one considers the little "Madeira-Mamoré" line in the north. (This is nothing but a rail connection between fluvial communications on those two rivers.) The "*Noroeste do Brasil*" is ultimately destined, by an international treaty long since signed, to be a joint Bolivian-Brazilian enterprise giving inland Bolivia a continuous rail connection with Campinas, São Paulo, and the port of Santos, and hence a fairly effective outlet to the sea. Recently a small branch line has been built from the main *Noroeste* line south to the Brazilian town of Ponta Porá, on the Paraguay frontier. This will further stimulate Neo-Brazilian penetration, consolidation, and development of the region.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The Present Basic Production and Consumption Unit of Society

Today the basic production-consumption unit is the elementary family instead of the extended family. Two closely related changes are (a) a shift in house type (architecture), and (b) a shift in the dwelling pattern. If there had been no change in the size of the primary producing and consuming unit, changes in architecture and in dwelling patterns probably would have been unnecessary and hence might not have occurred—or they might have been impossible. It is equally likely that the producing and consuming unit could not have changed, or changed so much, without corresponding changes in house type and in dwelling pattern. The three aspects, therefore, seem to have followed closely and reinforced each other in their mutual effect. It will be necessary to consider these aspects separately, however, taking the question of production-consumption unit first.

The elementary family, as a rule, is composed of a pair of spouses and their offspring, and this group is today primary and basic in production and consumption and as a dwelling unit.[129] This is the group that generally lives together in a separate dwelling, and the group which produces together according to the recognized division of labor by sex and age. What this group produces is destined for its own consumption; and, as a corollary, very little of what it consumes comes from any other source than its own production.

The *tapâi* type of "longhouse" admirably suited the aboriginal need of a large dwelling for the extended family. But today there is only one house in Taquapiri, except for the lone *tapâi*, which is large enough for any but the merest skeleton of an extended family. This single exception is the only structure which appears to house an extended family—not even the *tapâi* does. However, there are a few other cases of dwellings where occupants are not all members of a single elementary family, and these suggest former extended family usages. Non-members who live with certain elementary families are often widowed or divorced sisters or daughters of the male head of the household.

Each household has its own *kokwé* from which it obtains the largest amount of its food. This condition is like the aboriginal one except in the size of the household group; hence there are now more *kokwé*. Both the man and his wife work in the *kokwé*, and are alone responsible for its care, except for joint work parties which they may occasionally hold. In the latter case—in a small *puîrão*, at least—the husband ordinarily accompanies the party of men who have come to help with the work, while the wife produces in advance of the affair the necessary *cãuî* for the group. Within the elementary family, fire-

[129] Dwelling is technically a form of consumption, of course, the house being that which is "consumed."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

number of workers could produce a modern type house in the amount of time it would take them to build a much larger *tapúi*. Given metal tools, however, the ordinary elementary family can make reasonable headway with the construction of a modern house, especially with the occasional assistance of relatives. (Assistance is sometimes almost indispensable, particularly in the long and repeated trips to the forest to bring building materials, such as thatch and bamboo trunks.) But a man and his wife, even assisted intermittently by close relatives, would move exceedingly slowly in erecting a *tapúi*. In other words, building a *tapúi* is a large-scale operation requiring a number of people, with or without metal tools, whereas the modern house requires only a small work group, granted the machete.[142] Thus the modern small house seems intimately related to the elementary family in the matter of production.

Cayuá dwelling patterns also reflect the present production-consumption unit. At Taquapiri a considerable number of the houses are closely grouped at the same place. With transitory Cayuá occupation of agricultural land, many houses are necessarily situated at considerable remove from their *kokwé*, some up to as much as a mile or even more.[143] Moreover, it often happens that a man may have two fields under cultivation, and he may thus have an even greater distance to cover in walking from his house to his agricultural work.[144]

Elementary families (judging from Taquapiri, at least) tend almost uniformly to locate their houses close to those of their nearest relatives. Thus, the elementary family houses are now largely grouped as to what would formerly have been extended family affiliations. At Taquapiri this clustering of houses has resulted in greater distance to go to get to the fields. Even in the case of a

[142] The existing *tapúi* at Taquapiri was built jointly by men from several related families, but families not all related to each other as components of an extended family. The lone *tapúi* now has certain communal aspects, too, not characteristic of other houses.

[143] Judging from the Cayuá settlements that we observed—which were not by any means half of the total in Brazil—the location of houses in relation to fields at Taquapiri may not be typical. For there the largest number of houses is clustered fairly closely giving the settlement much the impression one thinks of in a village. Elsewhere—in the other three settlements of Cayuá visited—the present arrangement of houses, widely scattered in the forest and each usually located in the middle, or on the edge, of its respective *kokwé* was much more suggestive than Taquapiri of the probable aboriginal situation. Even at Taquapiri there are some individuals who have located their houses away from the village cluster and have put them next to or in their *kokwé*. This contributes to the impression that location apart, and not the "village" type, is the older arrangement. It is also possible that the break-up into elementary family units is not in other places so marked as at Taquapiri.

[144] Different kinds of soil are recognised as being favorable to different crops; also, it is believed—probably with justification—that it takes a while for the ants and other plagues to "discover" a *kokwé* newly cut from the forest. Once they "discover" a field, they multiply enough to hamper the growing of crops most susceptible to them. Thus, corn, for example, is almost always a preferred first or second crop in a new *kokwé*. Manioc tends to attract ants very rapidly and therefore has to be shifted frequently. The occupation of agricultural land varies with a number of factors but probably averages around four or five years.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

few individuals, whose houses are not located within the village cluster but near their *kokwé*, there is still evidently some tendency to locate nearby close relatives. These latter individuals, however, have achieved a more satisfactory balance between the ideal of location near one's field, on the one hand, and continuance of the traditional location with one's kin, on the other.

Some have not successfully resolved the implicit conflict between proximity to *kokwé* and proximity to kin. For a few the distance to their *kokwé* is small enough that it can be traversed, even daily, without much inconvenience. But for others, the distance is so considerable that their round of work activity is affected. There are cases in which individuals must spend from a half hour to an hour merely in getting to their clearings from their houses. The hardship is particularly felt during the season of more intensive agricultural activity. It must also be kept in mind that not only the man but also the woman is concerned since she, too, works in the clearing and must frequently go there to bring back the day's food rations.

The problem of extreme distance has been partly resolved by some Cayuá by the use of small, house-like structures in their *kokwé*. In these shelters they can stay overnight or for several days during the time when they must be most constantly in their fields for work. Two families move completely to their "summer homes" during the active agricultural season. Most field houses, however, are not presently ordered to serve for more than occasional and temporary quarters—for overnight or in case of sudden rain when there would not be time to get back to the settlement.

More often than not, the field house is primarily a storehouse for nonperishable agricultural produce and farm gear, and it is not necessarily also used as a field shelter. One might therefore judge that the use of the field house as a shelter emerged after the development of the structure as a field storehouse. A number of Cayuá have field storehouses but have not adapted them for dwelling purposes. Those which are adapted for shelter thus seem to represent but special uses in the general development of storehouses for agricultural produce.[146] The present cultural inconsistency on the point of location in

[146] On the point of whether the so-called *paiol* (this is a Portuguese word) is aboriginal or modern, the writer cannot pronounce since this was overlooked in the field work. It is a practice of some local Neo-Brazilians to have such storehouses in their *roças*, although they might conceivably have obtained this idea from the aborigines, as they certainly have done in the case of many other agricultural traits. The *paiois* vary in construction, depending on their particular use (i.e. for stores only or also for shelter). Some are built above the ground on low piles. The writer's supposition is that the Cayuá field shelter-storehouse is recent because of the modern implications of (a) a considerable agricultural surplus to be stored, (b) inadequate storage in the modern dwelling house (probably not the case with the larger *tapiri* and its storage shelves), and (c) the recency of the shelter requirement for such a field house. None of these points would seem to favor the argument of an aboriginal analogue of the *paiol*. However, if such were the case, it might still be argued that the aboriginal storehouse has nevertheless been affected by factors of acculturation, especially in its now occasional conversion for shelter.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani 5M4

proximity to kin or proximity to *kokwé* is evident in any case. The "summer house" helps to solve the difficulty to the extent that traditional location near relatives can be largely continued, even while related elements of the dwelling pattern have changed.

A Change in the Kinship System Respecting Avuncular Marriage

It has already been mentioned that the marriage preference between maternal uncle and niece (mother's brother-sister's daughter) probably at one time existed in Cayuá culture. (Cf. *supra*, pp. 34–37.) Several arguments for this point were advanced. The surviving terminological provisions of the present Cayuá kinship system favor it; the avuncular arrangement would have coincided well with the aboriginal extended family organization; and there are so many basic and striking similarities of culture in general between the Cayuá and the coastal Tupi for whom the usage is reported. The modern absence of the avuncular form, therefore, may be presumed a result of acculturational change. (Such a union is now held to be repugnant.) We shall consider subsequently the significance of this change and the reasons to which it may be ascribed. (See pp. 118–122.)

A Change of Economic Attitudes

Cayuá economic attitudes have changed with respect to the evaluation of goods and services and, in the second place, the relation of the individual to his fellows. We shall consider the latter change first. "Individualism" may be defined as "behavior in which the individual strives toward his goal without reference to others."[146] Economic sentiments of the Cayuá formerly were more concerned with joint or familial interests and goals. A change in the direction of individualism is seen especially in the relative degree to which individual, as opposed to collective, work is performed today. Formerly, a certain group of individuals, related to each other as members of an extended family, worked cooperatively to produce many of the necessities of life common to them all. They cooperated to build their *tapái*, to cultivate their (probably joint) *kokwé*, possibly to hunt, and probably to do certain kinds of fishing. Besides the common sustenance that they derived from this cooperative activity, and which was its primary purpose, they enjoyed the pleasure and solidarity such interaction brought. Cooperation gave assurance that if there was anything to eat, none would go hungry, even if his own luck happened temporarily to be short. In these activities, the extended family members worked for a common goal; this may be defined as the basis of cooperative behavior.[147]

Another type of aboriginal collective activity is the *puhirão*. This work may have involved the members of more than a single extended family, and such inter-familial joint work parties probably helped bind together in interaction

[146] Mead, 1937, p. 16. [147] *Ibid.*

4: Watson--1 E-5 (1943) 1944 SM4 Guarani SM4 Cayua

/31/

The Cayuá, who constitute a group of Indians of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family, presently live for the most part in the southern region of the State of Mato Grosso and of the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, in Brazil, and in the adjacent parts of Paraguay. The majority of these Indians, agriculturalists today, live in aldeias or scattered in the forest on posts and reservations of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios /Service of Protection for the Indians/. The data that we present here were gathered on the Taquapirí reservation during the months from July to December of 1943 (1).

1. This study was done in a period in which the author of these notes was the holder of a Junior Roosevelt Fellowship from the Institute of International Education of New York. The journey itself was undertaken in collaboration with the Museu Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. I wish to express my thanks to the Institute of International Education, to D. Heloisa Alberto Torres, Directress of the Museu Nacional, as well as to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which lent every assistance toward facilitating our work.

Unfortunately the information is not as complete as one studying the social organization would like it to be, but the author spent the major part of the time on the study of other aspects of the culture.

In the seventeenth century the Jesuits gathered many Guaraní-speaking Indians from the region of Paraguay and southern Brazil into reductions, for the purpose of catechizing them. We do not know the exact number of Guaraní-speaking natives who came in contact with the Jesuits during the period in which the latter worked in the region, which started at the beginning of the seventeenth century; nevertheless, Dobrizhoffer, a Jesuit who lived as a missionary in Paraguay for 18 years, states that in the

175 /31 cont./
797 second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
361 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
162 Indians (2).

[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
657 ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the under-
taking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times
gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from
other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely
lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the
Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they
178 have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
which they have had more and more intense contact with the white
population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only
speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although
many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part
of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./
made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives outside of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language, admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the Brazilian settlements of Uniño and Nhu Verá, about two leagues from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such as the Posto Índigena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí, Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca, gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that contain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians' territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

131 and Paraná before 1830. Some of the western branches of the Paraná
175 system are still familiar to the Cayuá of Brazil, especially the Rio Amambai and the Rio Iguatemy which flow through their present area.

A map[7] published in 1911 shows only a few small nuclei of Cayuá remaining in the regions east of the Paraná, demonstrating that they had at that time probably already withdrawn or largely disappeared from these parts. Today they are probably almost completely confined to what seems to have always been their traditional home in southern Mato Grosso and northern Paraguay.

Numbers

161 On the Brazilian side of the frontier the numbers of the Cayuá have been variously estimated, but to our knowledge, nothing like a
[657] census or a creditable calculation exists. A rough count of the inhabitants of the more accessible and stable villages may exist in the hands of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios (hereinafter to be referred
[361] to as the SPI). But large numbers of Cayuá live scattered in the *mata*
[596] or forest, in what seem to be small kinship groups — perhaps extended
[166] families — without anything like a true *village* grouping, and of whose numbers, therefore, no count has probably been made. There is, furthermore, a constant exchange of population between the Brazilian and the Paraguayan Cayuá, even at great distances, but especially in the case of those who live very near or on the frontier. Probably even less is known about the numbers of the Paraguayan Cayuá than the Brazilian. Perhaps a reasonable estimate for the Brazilian Cayuá would be something between 2,000 and 4,000, excluding the possibility that there are other nuclei of those forest-dwellers of which we did not hear.

Present-day Economy

361 A brief survey of what Cayuá economy is at present in the little
161 *aldeia* which we studied may make clearer the discussion of the effects of certain historical events upon the economy. The inhabitants of

[113] [7] Map organized by H. von Ihering, *Revista do Museu Paulista*, vol. VIII, (São Paulo, 1911). A modified version of this map appears with the present article.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living.

A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire.

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

western side, the *Guaraní* occupied all the land from Yapeyú to the Paraná River (Serrano, 1936, p. 121). From the junction of the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers, *Guaraní* villages were distributed continuously up the eastern side of the Paraguay River and up both sides of the Paraná River. They reached north to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River (lat. 20° S.,), and east probably to the Serras de Amambay and Maracayú. The *Guaraní* were especially numerous in the Paraná Basin and in the Province of Guairá. There were also countless settlements along the tributaries of the Paraná River, the boundary between the *Tupinakin* and *Guaraní* being approximately the Tieté River. The *Guaraní* extended south to the Province of Tapé (today, Serra Geral).

Although *Guaraní* was the generic name of this widespread people, the Spaniards in the 16th and 17th centuries distinguished local tribes by special names. Around Lagoa dos Patos, the *Guaraní* were called *Arechane* (lat. 32° S., long. 51° W.); from the Apa River to the Mbotetey (Miranda) River, *Itatín* (lat. 22° S., long. 57° W.); in the Serra Geral and Rio Grande do Sul, *Tapé* (lat. 30° S., long. 52° W.); around San Estanislao and San Joaquín, *Tobatín;* on the Ypané River, *Guarambaré* (lat. 23° S., long. 56° W.); and on the Ivahy (Ivahyete) River, *Taioba.* Tribes with a different language and culture, such as the *Caingang,* or with a different culture, such as the *Guayakí,* were scattered among the *Guaraní.*

In the second half of the 17th century, the *Northern Guaraní* or *Itatín,* were driven south by the *Mbayá-Guaicurú,* a Chaco tribe.

Modern Guaraní tribes.—Since the 18th century, the *Guaraní* groups who had remained independent and had not been collected in missions have been distinguished from the Christianized *Guaraní* by the name *Cainguá* (*Kaa-thwua, Kaingua, Coyuá, Montese*s), which means "Inhabitants of the Forest."

About 1800, the *Cainguá* (*Caagua*) inhabited the headwaters of the Iguatemí River, extending north toward the upper Miranda River to Cerro Pyta in the Cordillera de San José near the headwaters of the Ypané River. They also lived near the Jejuí-guazú (Jejuí) and the Aguaray-guazú Rivers and in the vicinity of the cities of Curuguaty, San Joaquín, and San Estanislao (Azara, 1904, p. 407).

The *Cainguá* proper lived on the Ypané River, the *Carimá* in the Serra Maracayú (lat. 23° S., long. 54° W.), and the *Taruma* east of the Yhú River (lat. 24° S., long. 56° W.).

The Indians who at the end of the 18th century lived on the right side of the Paraná River between the Guarapay and Monday Rivers and on the left side of the Paraná River from Corpus to the Iguassú River, were known as *Guayana* (lat. 26° S., long. 56° W.). A group of these *Guayana* still exists at Villa Azara on the stream Pirá-pyta. These *Guaraní*-speaking *Guayaná* should not be confused with the ancient

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve, and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

Caingué do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingué* have no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Paĩ'*. Other *Caingué* now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft., wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Caingué* of Brazil still lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50 feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a thorn hedge or a palisade.

Household furniture.—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing.—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in certain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary influence.

[Buriti]

/95 cont./ for the cows, thus employing very few people. (The Indians have the usufruct of the milk of this cattle, and more rarely the meat--since beeves are slaughtered only infrequently.)

/96/ Francisco Horta

The 3,600-hectare reservation, supervised by the Francisco Horta Native Post, is occupied chiefly by Guarani Indians of the Kaiwá subgroup, who are distributed among three of the four population nuclei in the aldea: a) the central nucleus or Aldeia Farinha Sêca, where the dwelling of the Kaiwá "Captain" João Fernandes is, located close to the native post and where most of the Kaiwá population lives; b) Aldeia Bororó, as they call a concentration of 177 Kaiwá Indians on the banks of São Domingos stream and which has its own chief, "Captain" Ireno Isnardi; c) also Aldeia Proterito, subjacent to the former one, made up of only four ranchos, with 10 Kaiwá inhabitants, on the banks of the stream of the same name; finally d) the fourth nucleus, called Jaguapiru, is made up exclusively of Terêna families that comprise about 180 persons living in ranchos along Saltino or Jaguapiru stream.

By decree of 1917, signed by the president of the state of Mato Grosso, the government donated those lands to the Kaiwá local group which at that time consisted of about 550 individuals. It seems that only after 1917 did Terêna families begin to reach the reservation, coming from the top of the Maracaju range. Everything indicates that the first families were drawn there by the Coronel de Engenharia, Nicolau Bueno Horta Barbosa, then inspetor of that region, with the aim of stimulating Kaiwá agriculture through the known efficiency of Terêna labor. The families that kept coming to Francisco Horta were drawn by their relatives, who were settled comfortably alongside the Kaiwá.